1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

INDUSTRIES AND IMPLEMENTS.

281 When a skin was brought in, it was hung on a sort of tripod, and with a chisel-like flesher of buffalo-leg bone the meat was removed. Then the hide was stretched on the ground to dry. When dried, the hair and thin coat of skin on the same side were cut off with the familiar implement of bent elk-horn, always provided, in recent times, with a metal blade. To make rawhide, nothing more was done. To make dressed skin, liver, grease, and brains, boiled and mixed in the proper proportion, were rubbed [177] or soaked into the skin and then removed with an ordinary scraper, now usually of sheet-iron or tin. Finally the skin was worked over with a rough stone or a bone. In preparing buffalo-skins for a tent, four steps were recognized: first, drying the skins; next, removing the hair; third, soaking them; and, last, scraping and working them over. Skins were softened by being drawn over a rope of buffalo-sinew.

281 When a woman had prepared enough buffalo-skins for a tent, she made
342 a feast and invited other women who were skilful at making tents. The most
476 expert of these fitted and tacked the skins together loosely, and the others sewed them fast. When a robe was to be embroidered, the woman who wanted to make it prepared food and invited other women to help her in her work. When the robe was finished, the man who was to receive it was called in, and it was given to him.

281 Caps of buffalo-skin were worn in winter. They were provided with flaps that were pulled down over the ears and held by a string fastened under the chin. Mittens of buffalo-skin were also used, tied together by a string which passed behind the neck. When the hunter was ready to shoot, he slipped his hands out of the mittens.

282 Simple flat unbraided ropes of rawhide were cut out of the skin in a long spiral. After having been cut, they were stretched between two sticks. In order to soften them, they were covered with manure, or tied to a horse that dragged them over the ground until they became pliable.

323 Pottery is declared to have been made formerly of clay mixed with crushed rock. Rawhide bags, drawn together at the top with a string, were
252 also used for cooking by means of hot rocks. The often described Plains method of cooking in holes in the ground lined with rawhide was also followed.

372 When fire was struck with flint and steel, dry mushrooms were sometimes used as tinder.

411 Bows were most frequently made of cherry-wood, but sometimes of ash. Ash was harder and more elastic, but more brittle. Sinew backing was

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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Ventre robes. A child's quilled robe (Museum specimen 50-1751) agrees in general with the Arapaho style of ornamentation,[1] and is probably more or less representative of the Gros Ventre type. The style is similar to that of the quill-work on the Arapaho bag shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI). Seventeen red quilled lines pass across this robe. Four spaces, two on the lines and two at the ends, are green instead of red on each line. Originally, small green-dyed plumes seem to have been attached here also; these have now almost disappeared. At the four green spaces on the lowest line, pendants are attached. These each consist of a small loop wound with green quills, and of two thongs wound with red quills. At the ends of the thongs are small cylinders of tin from out of which issues a tuft of dyed horsehair. The seventeen embroidered lines do not stretch entirely across the robe to its edge, but occupy a rectangular area including the greater part of its somewhat irregular surface. Certain Arapaho robes are described as having been embroidered with seventeen such parallel lines, to which a group of three was added at the lower edge, where pendants were attached. An Arapaho child's robe in the Museum collections is almost identical with this in style. The ornamental spaces on the red quilled lines differ somewhat, and there are eighteen instead of seventeen lines; but the general construction and appearance are strikingly similar, even to the pendant attachments. Dr. Clark Wissler's illustration[2] of a small Sioux robe serves to give a very close idea of the present piece. Like the Arapaho robe, this Sioux one has eighteen lines. Dr. Wissler makes the point that among the Sioux such red-line embroidered robes were distinctive of women and girls; but among the Arapaho the typical robe of men is said to have been embroidered with yellow or white lines. The Field Columbian Museum has on exhibition Cree, Crow, and Sioux children's robes ornamented with from seventeen to twenty lines and with hoof pendants at the bottom.

The Gros Ventre have now entirely abandoned the use of embroidered tent-ornaments such as are still quite common among the Arapaho. A single dilapidated partial specimen was obtained, shown in Fig. 4. This is very similar to the Arapaho tent-ornaments.[3] The full set consisted of a larger, round quill-embroidered piece of skin sewed to the back of the top of a tent and called *kaiⁿbiitⁿ* ("round embroidery"), four similar but smaller ornaments put on the sides of the tent lower down, and pendants attached to the upper flaps or ears of the tent. The circular embroidered ornaments had buffalo-tails or strips of buffalo-fur, and quill-wound pendant thongs with hoofs and loops at their ends, hanging from the middle.

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 29, 33, 65.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, Fig. 81.
[3] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 61–63.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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Of the pieces illustrated, the larger contains four black concentric circles interrupted by four black-bordered sectors. Quills, not plant fibres, have been used for this black embroidery. The lighter portions of the embroidery adjacent to the black circles seem to have been originally yellow, as the underlying protected quills are of this color, while those on the surface are

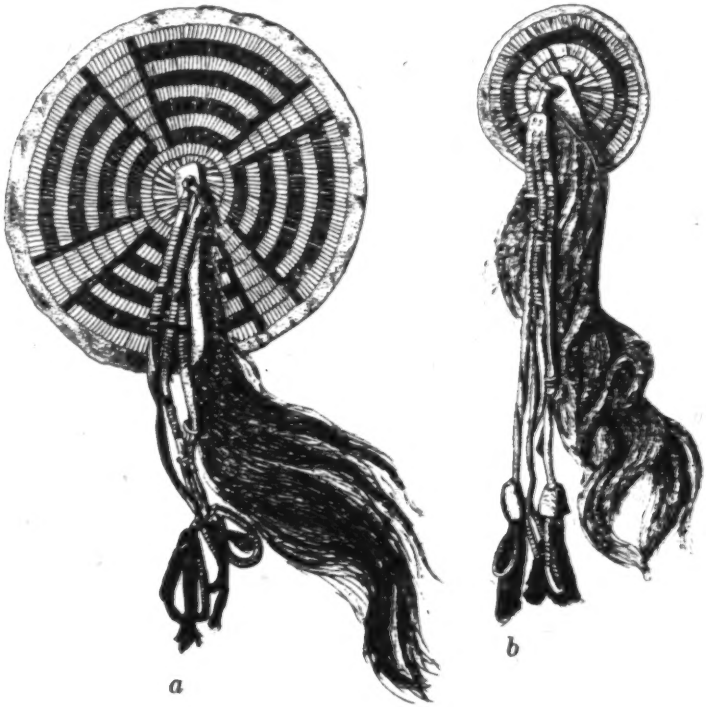

Fig. 4 (50-1829 a, b). Tent-ornaments. Diameters, 17 cm., 8 cm.

weathered white. The quills within the sectors, however, appear to have been always white. The pendants, three in number, are very much destroyed: it is evident, however, that they were wound with orange-yellow, red, white, and black quills in exactly the pattern used by the Arapaho.[1] The loops at the ends of the pendants contained red, yellow, and black quills,

[1] For description and illustration of pattern, see Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 35, 65, Figs. 12, 13.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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and probably white also. The pendants on the smaller ornament are identical, and still show the hoofs at their ends. It thus appears that, whereas the main ornament has only the three colors, namely, white, yellow, and black, — found also in an Arapaho ornament [1] with which it is virtually identical, — yet the peculiar line-pattern combination of red, yellow, white, and black, characteristic of the Arapaho "tribal" style of quill embroidery, also occurs in this Gros Ventre set of ornaments.

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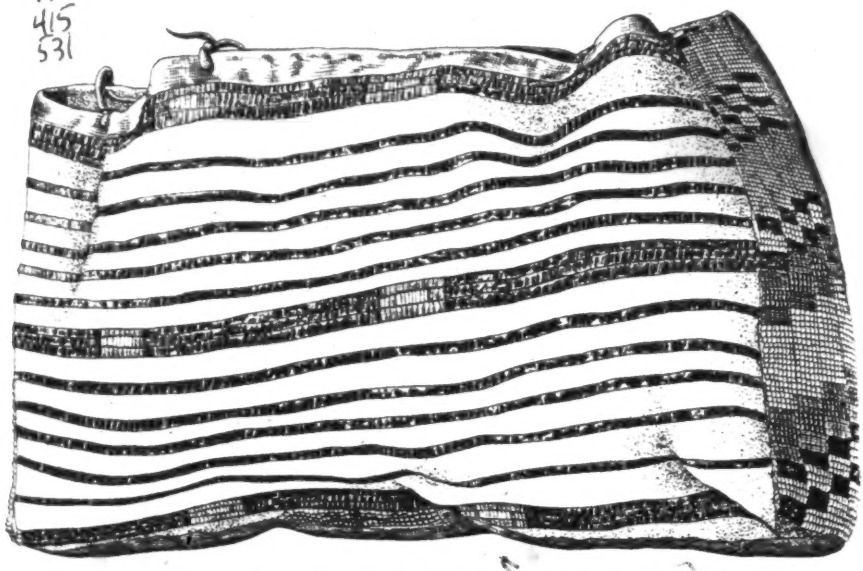

Fig. 5 (50-1738). Soft-skin Bag. Length, 21 cm.

Bags of soft skin, used chiefly for keeping and transporting clothing and small household articles, are made by the Gros Ventre very much as by the Arapaho and other Plains tribes. The ornamentation is also of the same character, consisting of red quill-embroidered lines across the front of the bag, and a pattern of bead-work (generally of alternately colored bars with cross spaces, augmented by tin and horsehair or other pendants) along the top and two side edges of the bag. This style has been illustrated for the Arapaho.[2] About half the Gros Ventre bags show the same ornamentation,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 60, Fig. 9, a.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Plate XVI.

Feathers, especially eagle feathers, were highly prized, and red paint, prepared from ochre, as well as other paints obtained through the trader, played their part in bodily decoration.

The younger men thought a great deal of their appearance. One of the things they made for themselves was fancy painted sunshade-hats of rawhide. The designs painted thereon had a yellow background against which various other colors stood out. Coming Daylight remarked: "These sunshades looked so fine that the other tribes copied them, just like the whites get their styles from Paris." Long thick hair was the ideal both for men and for women. The tail of the porcupine made an admirable comb. A number of perfumes were used by the young men. The castor of the beaver, for instance, was put in the paint bag so that the material for daily painting would be sweet smelling. Again, young men crushed "Piegan berries," chewed them, and rubbed them on hair, horses, and bedding, as perfume.

Incidentally, according to Coming Daylight, in order to clean their buckskin clothing, the Gros Ventres would wear it into the water, getting it completely wet, and then rub it thoroughly with a certain kind of white clay.[14] She said that the tribe was spoken of by other tribes as always having such nice white clothes, and to this habit of rubbing them with clay she attributes the name by which the Gros Ventres call themselves, *a'aninin*, "white clay people."

Ear-rings, worn both by men and women, were made from imported abalone shell, which they cut up and shaped; they also used a certain type of imported white shell. Many other kinds of necklaces, armlets, and so on were apparently used, but on these we failed to get details.

Household and Transportation

The lodges of the Gros Ventres were made from buffalo hides, the number used in each depending on the size of the lodge. They

[14] This custom is mentioned in the sources of the early 19th century. Cf. Harmon, p. 277; Henry, v. 2, p. 734. The latter adds, as a further distinguishing characteristic, that when the Gros Ventres use red "it is always of a light color, inclining to pale vermillion. The dark red or Spanish brown, so much in vogue among the other Meadow tribes, does not suit their taste."

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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were sewn together with sinew. The women selected the poles for the lodge, as well as for the travois, and were responsible for erecting and taking down the lodge, for the arrangement of the interior, for the making of the travois, and for the packing and moving of impedimenta.

The foundation of three poles for the lodge was tied together and then raised as a unit. The other poles were arranged one by one, starting with those of the front. The cover of buffalo hides was tied to one pole, the "backbone," which was placed at the center-back, the cover then being drawn into place and fastened securely at the front, with small wooden pins usually made of cherry-tree wood. The ordinary Gros Ventre lodge stakes were shaped like a pin with a relatively small head. One informant, however, stated that this form of stake often came loose where the cover became taut with the wind, and that she had found the forked type, first observed by her many years ago when visiting another tribe to the south, far more satisfactory.

Old lodge covers were saved and cut up to make a sort of lining at the bottom of the lodge in winter, and the snow scraped away to make place for the lodge was piled up on the outside thereof for extra warmth. In summer the ground inside the lodge was covered with willows, sagebrush or rye grass. Decorated robes as windbreaks were sometimes suspended in the lodge behind the fancy backrests, which were made by the women from slender willow rods. The women gathered and peeled the rods, although the young men helped straighten them by pulling them through their teeth. A willow ring encircled the fireplace and a broom of buckbrush was always kept handy. Personal belongings were neatly disposed against the wall of the lodge and in front of these were placed the skins which served as bedding by night and as seats by day. The painted parfleshes were given prominence to lend colorful touches. Dishes, utensils, and stored food were suspended from poles well off the floor.

Among the articles of household equipment may be mentioned knives, both of bone and of metal, kettles, horn spoons, fleshing tools, etc., and food containers of various sorts. For the latter, the membrane protecting the heart of the buffalo, the paunch, the bladder, and the intestines of the buffalo, as well as those of the

To cross a deep river such as the Missouri was quite an undertaking. When they reached the bank, they would spread out in family groups, while the men and women worked together to convert the lodges into round boats. Coming Daylight gave the following description. "The lodge cover was folded in half lengthwise over a rope of sufficient length that the ends protruded somewhat. Mud was then smeared as a layer between the two halves of the cover and on the outside of that half which would ultimately be in the water. The next step was to take the loose edges together, to form the rim of the boat by bunching up a considerable bit of the material and tying securely; leaving a free space, bunching up another bit of the material, leaving another free space, and repeating this operation at intervals, shaping the receptacle to the proper diameter by running a rope taut from 'tuft' to 'tuft'; then they packed in very carefully as much as the round boat would safely hold, and finally the portion of the rim which was formed by the fold—as distinct from the now 'tufted' free edges—was gathered into place by manipulating the ends of the rope which had been placed originally in the fold, the rope being now tied securely. A lead rope was attached to one 'tuft' at each side of the gathered portion of the rim. Two young men on horseback then dragged the boat into the water and took it across the river, dragging it safely up on the opposite bank." [16]

The boat was watertight and safe to transport any of their belongings, and even children or disabled adults. When the water transporting was finished the mud was washed off and the lodge cover spread on the ground to dry. This didn't take long and the lodge cover was soon as good as new.

The lodge poles had to be transported separately from the cover. The poles were cut when needed, and a hole was burned about four inches from the top of each. When the lodge was up, the free ends of the short strings of buckskin, run through these holes, fluttered in the breeze, making a fine decoration. The more practical purpose of the holes, however, was to allow a number of poles to be strung together for moving. For water transport not more

[16] Maximilian, who met the Gros Ventres on the Missouri in 1833, mentions, p. 73, their round boats made of buffalo skin, filled with articles for barter, "drawn by one swimmer and pushed by another."

than six poles would be so tied together, a strong line running through the holes, leaving a loop to go about the horses' neck. Another line was tied around the six, about in the middle, to hold the poles together as the horse dragged them through the water. A mounted horse could draw two sets of six poles across the river at one time, one set on each side, but could not take all the poles for a lodge on a single trip. Meat packed in skin bags was often lashed to the poles and did not suffer in transit. Occasionally older children rode across the river on these poles, and some people paddled across straddling a single log.

The same goods which we have described as used by the Gros Ventre to meet their needs for food, clothing, shelter and transportation were likewise used to meet many other needs. Cloth and clothing, feathers, ornaments, and so forth, were used as religious sacrifices and offerings. Food was used as payment or part-payment for services of those who helped in production of economic goods, or of those who cured diseases, acted in ceremonial capacity of one kind or another, as well as in meeting certain specific kinship obligations. Lodges might be painted in accordance with a supernatural vision, and, with the associated songs, were transferrable to others as ritual objects. Horses were used as payments of various kinds,—in connection with the bride price, to ceremonial grandfathers, and so on. There was thus no medium of exchange within the group and no strict classification into producer's goods as contrasted with consumer's goods is possible.

The older women informants described, when they were young, they would work at scraping skins pegged to the ground, by leaning over from the waist, feet well apart and knees unbent, swinging sideways from the hips. They could keep up this rhythmical steady motion, with the short-handled scraper usually tipped with metal, for hours at a time, one day after another. Sometimes, too, a woman would spend a whole day softening ropes of rawhide by rubbing the rope which had been run through the eye and ear apertures of a buffalo skull upon which the horns had been left so that she, sitting on the ground with legs extended, could rest her feet against the horns as she pulled the rope back and forth, making it soft and white.[4] Nevertheless the tedium of these operations was often relieved by the fact that occasionally other women, who had at the moment some leisure, would hear the work going on and would volunteer to help.

It was customary for women to do much of their work in groups. If a young woman, for instance, wished to make a fine robe, she would call in some other women, including an older experienced "hand." The latter would mark the robe where the embroidery should go, and the younger women did the fancy work. The hostess would cook for all present and so, in a pleasant atmosphere of sociability and "woman talk," the work would progress. A similar type of gathering would be held when a sufficient number of hides had been saved to make a lodge cover.

In size the lodges ranged from six skins up to twenty-four or twenty-five, with the average of about fourteen to seventeen.[5] Much skill was needed for cutting and fitting the skins and an experienced woman would be called in to do that part, while the others helped with the task of sewing the skins together. Our informants stated that a woman would have to "save and save" skins towards a new lodge, which was a necessity about every three years.

Women went out in groups to pick berries and wild fruits as well as to dig roots, but each one had right of disposal over what

[4] Another method for softening ropes is given by Kroeber, 1908, p. 150.

[5] The largest lodge remembered by the Gros Ventres is said to have been that of the Blood Chief, Father of All, who had, at the time of the 1855 treaty, a lodge with two fires, poles 65 ft. long, and the cover consisting of more than 25 skins.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

555 The more war-deeds a man performed, the more frequently was
342 he the center of attention. Gradually he began to rise above
others and finally he achieved recognition as an outstanding war-
rior. Only when a man reached this enviable height was he justi-
fied in having his war record painted on his lodge for all the world
to admire. When a newly painted lodge of this kind was first
erected, the owner initiated its use by giving a feast to which other
prominent warriors were invited. From among the guests, the host
"pulled up" one who was able to tell four brave exploits, each
connected in some way with a different lodge belonging to the
enemy. At the conclusion of each separate account, the warrior
who was reciting hit the taut new lodge a resounding blow, thus
attracting attention. Then while the guests were feasting and
smoking with the host, crowds gathered around to examine the
lodge and to discuss the record depicted thereon. It was said, too,
that similar discussions took place when the Gros Ventres met on
friendly terms with other tribes. The reputation of the owner was
thereby enhanced as his prowess was ever more widely acknow-
ledged.

Enemy-Friends

572 In accordance with the general prestige pattern, an outstanding
warrior, or one who had aspirations toward that end, was expected
to be generous as well as brave. Particular significance attached,
however, to the disposition of horses stolen from the enemy or of
weapons or other trophies obtained from the enemy at risk of life.
[602] The giving of such presents initiated a particular relationship be-
tween recipient and donor known as the enemy-friendship. This
was a kind of "joking relationship" and involved the greatest
amount of freedom between the two both in word and action.
Whatever one enemy-friend said or did to the other had to be borne
with equanimity. Loss of temper involved loss of prestige, and it
was said that in some cases one enemy-friend had to suffer
patiently audacity which would have led him to murder another not
in that relationship. Each tried to out-do the other by kinds of
speech and action ranging all the way from the most harmless
teasing and jokes to the most humiliating exposition of foibles and
misdemeanors.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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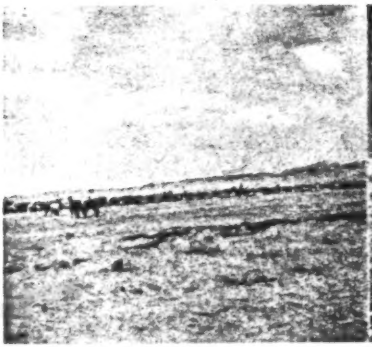
IN THE LITTLE ROCKIES

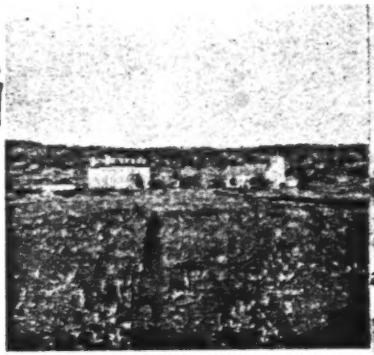
THE BOY



PLAINS NEAR HAYS

MARY, SINGER, AND COMING DAYLIGHT

[342]
[1797]



ST. PAUL'S MISSION AND SCHOOL

COMING DAYLIGHT'S TIPI

PLATE II

[p. 212 (8)]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

informed one, feasting them and also, *de regueur*, giving payment in valuable goods for each bit of instruction received. In these instruction sessions, the last keeper usually played the leading role, but the others would coach and correct when necessary or one of them if better informed on this or that point might teach while the last keeper took a back seat. The retiring co-keeper did most of the instruction of the new co-keeper. The Feathered Pipe keeper co-keeper, ex-keepers, and ex-co-keepers would commonly sit in at these sessions, but only as guests, without taking part in the instruction. Lame Bull, when first made keeper, got a great deal of his instruction from Deer, an earlier exceptionally well informed keeper.

A ritual relationship was contracted between the new keeper and co-keeper on the one hand and the ex-keeper and ex-co-keepers on the other. All the ex-keepers become "grandfathers" to the new keeper and co-keeper; all the ex-co-keepers, "grandmothers" to them; and are so addressed by these names respectively. The retiring keeper and co-keeper became, as it were, principal "grandfather" and "grandmother" respectively. This sacred relationship was looked upon as very like that between grandparents and grandchildren by blood. Privileged familiarity in the way of vulgar talk and banter, between these ritual grandparents and grandchildren, obtained, but not quite the large degree of freedom that obtained between grandparents and grandchildren by blood.[8] The ritual "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" also had certain recognized powers of control over their "grandchildren": if, for instance, one of these "grandsons" went on a berserk rampage and was about to kill a fellow-tribesman, and his own father and mother could not bring him to reason, one of the ritual grandfathers might be called in to reason with his grandson and the latter would have to abandon his angry murderous design.

Keeper's Lodge

The Flat Pipe keeper's lodge was a large one, undecorated on the outside except for a portion painted red around the door.

[8] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The lodges of the other people faced toward the east-southeast, from utilitarian consideration, since the prevailing and strongest winds were from the northwest in winter and west in summer. But the door of the keeper's lodge was toward the south, an orientation determined by the ritual position of the Pipe inside the lodge, namely, in the place of honor opposite the door with the stem pointing toward the rising sun.

The interior of the keeper's lodge was arranged as follows. In the center was the family hearth. About midway between this and the north segment was the square incense hearth, with the west half of black sand and the east of red. At the north, close to the wall, was the Pipe bed and place for the Pipe tripod. The bed, oriented east and west, was made of a buffalo robe over sage brush. At each end was a willow back rest, and over each rest a robe of summer-pelage (after winter coat completely shed) buffalo skin. The tripod, of three legs, was a little over five feet high. The Pipe bundle was either laid on the bed close to the wall or else hung on the tripod, always with the stem to the rising sun. The northern part of the lodge, including the incense hearth and Pipe bed and adjacent area, in all about one-third of the interior, constituted a sort of "sanctuary."

The keeper's sleeping bed, with its back rest toward the north, was a little removed from the Pipe bed, toward the west; the co-keeper's in a corresponding position toward the east. The Pipe child commonly slept on the Pipe bed, alongside of and to the south of the Pipe bundle, with his head to the east. If however the keeper or co-keeper wanted to sleep on the Pipe bed in order to dream, the Pipe child would then give place and sleep in his father's or mother's bed as the case might be. When any of the three slept on the Pipe bed, the Pipe bundle might hang on the tripod over them or else rest on the northern edge of the bed nearest the wall. In the latter case, the tripod was folded up and leaned between the Pipe bed and the co-keeper's bed. According to Thick the sleepers had to lie flat on their backs all night. According, however, to The Boy they were forbidden to do so and had instead to lie on their sides, because the turtle was closely associated with the Flat Pipe and if a turtle gets on its back it cannot right itself.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

341 346 353 The triangular space between the foot of the Pipe bed and the head of the keeper's bed served the keeper as a place to keep such of his personal and ritual belongings as his peppermint, sage brush, personal smoking pipe, and so forth.

778 788 In good weather, the Pipe bundle was taken outside by the co-keeper in the morning (rite to be described later) and hung up, stem to east, on the outside of the keeper's lodge just above the door, the thong handle of the bundle being looped around a pin of the lodge. About sundown the bundle was brought inside again by the co-keeper to its ritual place. At night the opening of the keeper's lodge was securely closed with a piece of rawhide, shaped like the door, covered with a sort of lattice work of rawhide, and fastened from the inside.

778 The keeper's lodge, as the depository of the Flat Pipe and the dwelling of the consecrated custodians thereof, had to be treated with great respect. This respect was formalized in a number of ritual and other observances.

784 No one was permitted to step over the incense hearth, under penalty of being inflicted with fits.

When the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child took off their moccasins for the night, these had to be deposited, not alongside the beds or *under the pillows or anywhere in the* "sanctuary," but near the lodge door,—the keeper's to the west of the door, the co-keeper's to the east, the Pipe child's to either the west or the east *ad libitum*. If this were not done, severe headaches would result.

Anyone entering the keeper's lodge or leaving it or passing from one part of it to another, always had to walk clockwise.

784 516 When anything was going on therein, with men and women both present, the men had to sit on the western side, the women on the eastern. When they sat down, they could not sit with legs stretched out in front; the men squatted on their heels with knees touching the ground and legs parallel, while the women sat on their buttocks with their legs to the right side one leg under the other.

784 No one, adult or child, could throw stones or sticks at the keeper's lodge. Children were not allowed to play or fool or romp